

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04876 252051Z

54

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 COME-00 AGR-05 STR-04

CU-02 INRE-00 /091 W

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O R 251910Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4067

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4876

FOR EUR/PRM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP: CONTINUITY ISSUE POSED BY SECOND
OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH

REF: GENEVA 4823

1. SWEDISH COORDINATOR SUBMITTED FOLLOWING SUGGESTED
COMPROMISE TEXT FOR A POSSIBLE SECOND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH
TO THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP JUNE 25. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE
VARIOUS QUALIFICATIONS, IT NEVERTHELESS DREW A GENERALLY
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04876 252051Z

FAVORABLE REACTION FROM WIDE SPECTRUM OF NEUTRALS, AS WELL

AS FROM DANES, UK AND EVEN FRANCE.

2. BEGIN TEXT. AGREE TO SECURE THE CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS BY CONVENING MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WITH A VIEW TO:
(A) UNDERTAKE (SIC) EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AND INFORMATION ON HOW THE DECISIONS/PROVISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT;

(B) STUDY WAYS AND MEANS TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE; INCLUDING THE CONVENING OF A NEW CONFERENCE. END TEXT.

3. THE DANISH REPRESENTATIVE, IN HIS CAPACITY AS EC-NINE FOLLOW-UP FLOOR LEADER, COMMENTED THAT THIS PROPOSED NEW TEXT WAS IN SOME RESPECTS WEAKER THAN THE COMPARABLE LANGUAGE IN THE REVISED DANISH TEXT, WHICH MADE MORE PRECISE COMMITMENTS. HE ALSO STRESSED THAT SOME DELEGATIONS (I.E., THE US AND TURKEY) WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH THE WORD "AGREE", WHICH HAS BINDING LEGAL SIGNIFICANCE. NEVERTHELESS, DANES NEITHER REJECTED THIS FORMULATION OUT OF HAND NOR EXCLUDED POSSIBILITY THAT THEY AND BY IMPLICATION THE NINE, COULD COME TO ACCEPT A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE "CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS" AS SUGGESTED IN THIS TEXT.

4. NEEDLESS TO SAY, DELEGATIONS SUCH AS THE ROMANIANS, YUGOSLAVS, SWISS AND SPANISH, WARMLY WELCOMED THIS NEW FORMULATION. THE ROMANIANS, FOR THEIR PART, PROMPTLY PUT FORWARD AN AMENDMENT PROVIDING FOR "ANNUAL SENIOR OFFICIAL MEETINGS", WHILE THE YUGOSLAVS SUGGESTED THAT "PERIODIC" SENIOR OFFICIAL MEETINGS WOULD SUFFICE. THE FRENCH DELEGATION ALSO EXPRESSED SOME PROVISIONAL WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER THIS TEXT, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE TO BE AMENDED IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, I.E. OF PROVIDING SPECIFICALLY FOR ONLY ONE SENIOR OFFICIAL MEETING.

5. THE CZECHS THEN PRESENTED WHAT IS, IN EFFECT, THE SOVIET COUNTER-PROPOSAL ON THIS POINT. THE CZECHS FIRST EXPLAINED THAT THEY WERE TENTATIVELY PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE OF THE PROPOSED NEW SWEDISH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04876 252051Z

COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH; ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD LIKE TO REPLACE THE REFERENCE TO "SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETINGS" WITH A REFERENCE TO MEETINGS OF A "CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE". THEY THEN STRESSED THAT THE IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR PROPOSAL WAS TO REPLACE THE PROPOSED NEW SWEDISH SUBPARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B) WITH THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE -- WHICH THE SOVIETS TOLD US PRIVATELY REPRESENTS THE "ESSENCE OF THEIR FOLLOW-UP POSITION". FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE PRO-

POSED CZECH AMENDMENT:

6. BEGIN TEXT. ...WITH A VIEW OF PROCEEDING TO A GENERAL POLITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE, AS WELL AS AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND OF INFORMATION IN THE CONTEXT OF QUESTIONS TREATED AT THE CONFERENCE, AND TO THE STUDY OF WAYS AND MEANS OF FURTHERING THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE CONVENING OF A NEW CONFERENCE; END TEXT.

7. FRENCH REP AND SOME OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS IMMEDIATELY POINTED OUT TO CZECHS THAT, ALTHOUGH CSCE PROCESS CLEARLY INVOLVED POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, IT DID NOT CONSTITUTE THE ENTIRETY OF THE DETENTE PROCESS. THE NEW CZECH TEXT THEREFORE WENT TOO FAR IN THIS DIRECTION.

MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS DEFERRED COMMENT ON THE CZECH TEXT FOR THE MOMENT.

8. COMMENT AND REQUESTED ACTION: OUR OWN INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET DELEGATION SUGGEST THAT THEY WILL PROBABLY COMPROMISE THE POSITION REFLECTED IN THE ABOVE CZECH AMENDMENT, PARTICULARLY IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE THE CONVENING OF STAGE III IN JULY. WE ASSUME THEREFORE, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT, THAT THIS PROBLEM CAN GRADUALLY BE RECONCILED IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS.

9. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PROPOSED SWEDISH DRAFT POSES THE QUESTION WHETHER PHRASES LIKE "SECURE THE CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS", OR REFERENCES TO "MEETINGS" OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE PLURAL ARE ACCEPTABLE.

10. SINCE THE CONVENING OF THE OPEN-ENDED SWEDISH WORKING
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 04876 252051Z

GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT THE EC-NINE ARE MOVING IN THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF ACCEPTING A DEGREE OF "CONTINUITY". THEIR POSITION, HOWEVER, IS NOW MUCH LESS EFFECTIVELY COORDINATED THAN EVEN A WEEK AGO, THE REVISED DANISH TEXT WAS STILL THE ONLY DRAFT THEY WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS. EVEN THE FRENCH ARE, AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, SHOWING SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO CONTINUITY, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY WELL CONTINUE TO LAG BEHIND OTHERS AMONG THE NINE IN THIS RESPECT. IN SHORT THERE IS INCREASING AWARENESS BY VIRTUALLY ALL WESTERN DELEGATIONS HERE THAT, IF A MAJOR CONFRONTATION WITH ROMANIA AND MOST OF THE NEUTRALS IS TO BE AVOIDED ON FOLLOW-UP, SOME CONCESSIONS WITH RESPECT TO CONTINUITY WILL BE NECESSARY.

11. WE ASSUME THAT THE DEPARTMENT ALSO AGREES WITH THIS

ANALYSIS AND WITH ITS IMPLICATION THAT THE US TOO SHOULD
CONTINUE TO STAY NEAR THE CENTER OF THE MAINSTREAM OF
EC-NINE OPINION ON THIS POINT. IF THIS IS SO, WE WOULD
PLAN TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE NINE, AND TO
SUBMIT SPECIFIC TEXT FOR DEPARTMENT APPROVAL WHEN A CON-
SOLIDATED COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH EMERGES.

12. DEPARTMENT'S COMMENT ON PARA 11 WOULD BE APPRECIATED
SOONEST. DALE

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